

# THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF SYNDICALISM, THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

VOL. 2, NO. 18

HOME, (LAKEBAY P. O.) WASHINGTON, AUG. 1, 1912

WHOLE NO. 42

## The Passing Show

### Judge Hanford and Socialist Citizenship.

Let me herald a great victory for the "cause." Judge Hanford has resigned. While the Congressional Committee was busy digging up the backyard of his unsavory reputation, covering 23 years on the job, he quit.

Among other unfailing evidence of corruption the probers unearthed a recipe for a fancy drink, known to Seattle tipplers as "The Hanford cocktail." With this damaging discovery the old man passed up. For he knew very well that Congress would stand for most anything except a cocktail it hadn't tasted.

Now you may not know, especially if you are a reader of the Socialist press, that the downfall of this arrogant cocktail inventor was initiated by the one real congressman in the whole conglomerate bunch, known to a few of us insiders as Victor L. Berger.

I don't say Berger had an inside tip on the cocktail. It was quite another matter that induced him to crawl out from the shadows and move the mighty motion.

One Olsen, a Socialist, had been refused citizenship by Hanford on the grounds that he was a Socialist; not dreaming that such foolhardiness would cost him his job. He evidently had not heard of the lone Congressman on the Potomac.

Now, if the Socialist press can only be induced to take this matter up and herald it far and wide, observing, incidentally, that the one Congressman moved the motion, the end of judicial usurpation will be at hand. But I know that nothing short of a profound sense of public duty will ever overcome the dignified silence the Socialist press has maintained with reference to Berger's achievements since his election.

Knowing the fate of Hanford, what judge will ever again refuse citizenship to a Socialist or invent a cocktail?

I am with Hanford on the cocktail. If a man cannot drink a cocktail and hold a job, public or private, I say let him strike. The tyranny that will dictate to the individual what he shall not drink deserves the worst that can befall it.

Hanford is no friend of freedom, as his utterances on various occasions fully proved. He may be a tool of the corporations, as most politicians are. Still that should not prevent us from giving him credit where he is right; and in my judgment he was absolutely right in the Olsen matter. I see no flaw in his reasoning on the case. Olsen is either a Socialist or he is not. If he is a Socialist, he must be opposed to the present form of government. This is the one he was called upon to swear allegiance to. The law presumes that his oath carries with it his innermost sentiments; in other words, that he is honest. It has no way of determining this except by his actions and association, which is the very best evidence. If it finds that he is agitating for another system and for the overthrow of the present one, it is logically justified in presuming that, between his actions and his oath, the former represent his true sentiments.

That he may be in favor of a "peaceful overthrow" is mere subterfuge, and has no standing. He must be in accord with the present system or he is a perjurer who takes the oath of citizenship.

Hanford was right. He had the goods on Olsen.

### The Transport Workers' Strike.

The Transport Workers of the Atlantic coast are on strike against King Morgan, who is boss of the shipping interests. These men are putting up a fine fight. They are no spring chickens in the labor war, either. They have learned a few things from life. One of them is solidarity.

There is no trade or calling among them now. There is no craftism running foolishly around looking for a place to hide its hydra heads from the shafts of scorn hurled at it by the Syndicalists. There are not sailors, oilers, firemen, cooks, etc.; they are Transport Workers, with a common cause, a common enemy, and they are making a common fight. These Transport Workers publish a fine revolutionary weekly paper, "Labor Culture," very ably edited by Comrade P. Esteve.

It is common among strikers now to have some of their number murdered by the masters' watchdogs. These Transport Workers have lost their man already. Comrade Rodriguez, an able and active worker, was shot dead on the sidewalk by a policeman. The shooting was cold-blooded and without provocation. But that matters not. There is no redress anyway and they, perhaps, would not want redress if they could get it. How could a murdered comrade be redrest? Only by exposing the murder and the cause of it. This these workers did.

As a sign of the oneness, of the comradeship that is theirs, and must become that of the intelligent minority of wage workers before final victory and freedom will be won, these common men of the sea carried the remains of their martyred comrade on their shoulders through the streets of New York, and marched in thousands behind, disdaining carriages and hearse.

The masters' guns may roar, but they cannot avail against the true force of human brotherhood, welling up in the heart of toil, only a glimpse of which we see in that funeral procession.

### War in West Virginia.

From the coal mining camps of West Virginia comes the news of war. Striking is war. Every strike is a miniature Revolution—a sample of what is coming in the not far distant future.

The workers are beginning to realize the truth of this and, through the knowledge, becoming better strikers. They have all the physical strength necessary to strike a concentrated blow that would rid them finally and for all time of the tyranny that is perched upon their backs.

What they need is mental power; and this mental process must consist as much in casting out rubbish as in taking in truth.

Labor in the past has allowed the priest and politician to do his thinking. Only now

is he beginning to realize what a consummate pair of scoundrels these fellows are. He is going even further in this analysis. He is learning that these scoundrels have proxies in his own ranks, in the fellows he elevates to leadership and follows.

That is the healthiest and most valuable kind of knowledge. This army business must be discarded by labor. It is a slave system, copied from the masters. Intelligent men will discard it as a toy of youthful ignorance.

It is not so much one big union as one big idea the workers want.

Every man who thinks is himself a complete organization, with leader and follower equally balanced. A confederation of such organizations is what we want.

The West Virginia miners have tasted of oppression. They have tasted of knowledge. They have rebelled. Let society take the consequences.

### Rome's Rotten Record Unreadable.

Tom Watson, editor of The Jeffersonian, has been indicted by a Federal Grand Jury on the charge of "sending obscene matter through the mails." The offensive matter consists in an historical expose of the Roman Church. The wily old harlot is extremely touchy on her past. Her record of crime is so black that I wonder it can even be read. I cannot see how an adequate idea of her dastardly record can be conveyed to the minds of others without the use of language offensive to the prudish ears of our modern Mother Grundies.

How else can it be? When one speaks of mud he must use the language of mud.

But the important consideration here is not that Watson published Rome's rotten record, but the readiness with which the government came to her rescue. And still, why should we wonder at it! Isn't Taft the creative of Rome? See his record in the Philippine affairs. Wasn't tiger-teeth-Teddy Rome's lucky? Isn't the Republican party in the grip of Rome? Didn't one of her priests open the convention with prayer!—the mockery of it!

Isn't Rome a powerful machine with a high order of shrewd intelligence at the top and blind fanaticism below. Should we wonder, then, that it gets Tom Watson indicted?

What's to be done? Follow Watson. Throw the flashlight of reason upon its blackness. Expose its cupidity.

When strikers kill a few watchdogs and get killed while doing it, the hypocrites and fools, knaves and know-nothings, unite their voices in one great holler of protest against the "brutality and barbarism" of strikes and urge their speedy suppression by the civilized weapons called bullets and bayonets. But, when one or two hundred miners are killed in a mine through the absolute carelessness of the bosses, it's "a deplorable misfortune" and nothing more.

A special from Lobster Bay says that Barko the Monk is busy with tooth and fang modelling a mission platform for de taird party.

Knowledge and oppression form a dangerous explosive, far more potent than dynamite.

JAY FOX.

# THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

**The Laws among us fell discord create;  
They teach us how to plot, to steal, to hate,  
Why worship then their makers? Why obey  
The Judges who on Mammon ever wait?**

ABU'L-ALA, Arabian Poet, tenth century.

## SYNDICALISM IN FRANCE

II

(This is the first and only complete history of the great French labor organization, and we are glad to present it to our readers, especially at this time, when so much is being said and so little is known about syndicalism. The reader will observe the dissimilarity between the C. G. T. and any organization in this country. This history was accepted for publication as a pamphlet in Chicago eighteen months ago and has been pigeon-holed ever since. Syndicalism won't stay "put" any longer. —Editor.)

### Functions of Bourses

**Organization and Propaganda:** The bourses organize by locality creating syndicates impartially in all industries. Once a bourse is founded in a locality there is no limit to its growth, until all the workers in its locality are organized into syndicates. These syndicates organize into craft and industrial federations. The bourses thus do organizing work that would be next to impossible for the federations to perform.

The bourses are peculiarly well fitted to organize local general strikes. A recent strike of this character was the one day general strike in Havre, as a protest against the sentencing to death of Durand; secretary of the Coal Heavers' Union. The bourses are veritable hotbeds of Syndicalist propaganda.

**Employment Bureaus:** The bourses are the employment bureaus of France. They keep the most complete statistics on the labor supply and demand to be had. All jobs are free. The bourses are widely patronized by employers and workers alike.

**Viatium:** This is a system for materially aiding travelling members (some bourses also aid non-members) to stay in town a day or two to search for work. All bourses have the system more or less developed, some giving food and shelter, others money. The Paris bourse gives 50c. a day for two days. Many national federations have the "viaticum" also. A traveling member can secure, besides food and shelter, \$40 a year from the bourses alone. A C. G. T. card, grace to the viaticum, legally exempts its bearer from vagrancy charges. The "viaticum" is a favorite institution of French rebels.

**Sou du Soldat:** Literally, "The Soldier's Cent." Members in good standing summoned to do compulsory military service (two years) are allowed, usually \$1.00 every three months. The government pays the workers one cent a day as wages to kill workers and the bourses, or sometimes syndicates or federations pay them one and one ninth cents a day not to do so. This institution is cordially hated by the government and has been made the excuse for sending many militants to jail.

**Judicial Council:** The Paris bourse has a permanent judicial council composed of six doctors, six lawyers, six conseillers prudhommes (working class members of local arbitration courts) and six workers. This committee gives its services free to all working men injured at work: having damage suits against their employers: arrested during labor troubles, blacklisted, etc. It is a success and is hated by employers, legal and medical sharks alike.

**Trades Schools:** Many bourses have trade schools in which expert mechanics are employed to teach trades to boys. The "job trust" is not popular among French workers.

**Cooperatives:** Many bourses have cooperatives in production or distribution, but aside, usually, from their regular undertakings. To acquire property under capitalism is not one of the ideals of the bourses.

During severe strikes the local bourse takes charge of

the local strikers' children and portions them out to neighboring bourses, where they are taken care of while the strike lasts. The bourses often have strike, sick, death and out-of-work benefits, "soupes communistes," (common table during strikes) etc. Many of them have fine libraries and publish their own papers.

The bourses are the pride of French rebels. They are the source from which Syndicalism sprang and spread to the rest of the labor movement.

### The C. G. T.

The federations and bourses are united nationally (colonies included) under the constitution of the C. G. T.; C. G. T. is composed of two sections. 1st: Section of Federations—the national alliance of all the federations. 2nd: Section of Bourses—the national alliance of all the bourses. The Section of Federations is the national organization of all the industries. The Section of Bourses is the national organization of all the localities. The national organizations of these two sections are known as the Federal, and Bourse Committees, respectively. (See diagram in 1st. article.)

### Federal Committee

The Federal Committee located at Paris, is composed of one delegate from each federation. It has a "bureau" composed of Secretary, Treasurer, Archivist and assistants. The Secretary only (Leon Jouhaux, match worker,) is under salary. He gets \$50 per month. The principal functions of the Federal Committee are to enforce decisions of C. G. T. convention, to collect C. G. T. dues from federations, to carry on propaganda, to act as arbiter between federations, to create new federations or fuse existing ones. This latter is easy to do because there are but few "meal tickets" in the federations and no one, save the politicians, are interested in keeping them apart. During the past two years seven federations have been fused. Several more will soon follow suit. The C. G. T. convention of 1906 decided to admit only industrial federations in future. The powers of the Federal Committee are very limited. It serves simply as the channel thru which the autonomous federations keep in touch with each other. It meets twice per month. Cash on hand 1910, \$300.

### Bourse Committee

The Bourse Committee, located at Paris, is composed of one delegate from each bourse. It has a "bureau," the same as that of the Federal Committee. The Secretary only (Georges Yoclot, compositor) receives salary. He gets \$50 per month. The Bourse Committee enforces C. G. T. convention decisions regarding bourses, collects C. G. T. dues, carries on propaganda, creates new bourses and develops those already existing. The regional type (mining district) is the ideal, and efforts are being made to reorganize bourses on this revolutionary type that ignores capitalist territorial lines. The Bourse Committee also collects very complete statistics on production, labor supply, working conditions, etc. in all parts of France. This it is able to do simply by compelling the thoro reports of the individual bourses. The Bourse Committee serves as the central point at and thru which the functions of the individual bourses complement each other and receive a national expression. It is non-dictatorial, the individual bourses retaining the completest autonomy. Bourses situated far from Paris usually select well known militants at Paris to represent them on the Bourse Committee. One delegate can represent three bourses. Meets twice per month. Cash on hand 1910 \$95.

### Confederal committee

The Confederal Committee, located at Paris, consists of the combined Federal and Bourse Committees. At present it numbers about 140 members. Its "bureaus" consists of the combined "bureaus" of the Federal and Bourse Committees. The secretary of the Federal Committee, Leon Jouhaux, is also secretary of the Confederal Committee; also called secretary of the C. G. T.. No increase in salary. The treasurer of the Confederal Committee (Charles Marck, longshoremen) receives a monthly salary of \$50. Services of all other members are free except in case of special business. The "bureau" is elected by the committee after each C. G. T. Convention. Officers may succeed themselves. No quorum required at meetings. Confederal Committee meets regularly every three months, or on convocation of its "bureau." It elects from its ranks three committees of twelve each, six from each section. These are: Auditing, Official Journal ("Le Voix du Peuple"), and Strike and General Strike Committees. As the C. G. T. takes a non-political stand, there are no parliamentary committees nor lobbyists. Political discussion in the Confederal Committee meetings is prohibited.

The C. G. T. is the central point in the French labor movement; the point at which all the autonomous organizations are joined, and where the movement receives a complete class expression. In it are united, on the other hand, the national alliance of organized national indus-

tries (Section of Federations), and on the other, the national alliance of organized localities (Section of Bourses), The Confederal Committee supervizes the enforcement of the decisions of the C. G. T. Conventions, and acts as arbiter between the various affiliated organizations. Its decisions are binding until the following C. G. T. convention. Otherwise its functions are of a propaganda, solidarity and advisory nature. It is not in the least legislative and the humblest syndicat has the right to ignore its "orders."

As befits it, the Confederal Committee occupies itself chiefly with class issues. It scans very closely the laws, alleged to be in the interest of the working class, and wages a most vigorous campaign of agitation against them. It is a veritable hotbed of anti-military propaganda. In 1903 it organized a nation-wide campaign against the private employment offices, which resulted very largely in their suppression. In 1904 the C. G. T. convention decided to carry on an agitation for the general establishment of the eight hour day on May 1st 1906. The task of organizing this class issue naturally fell to the Confederal Committee. The agitation was so intense and wide-spread that the ruling class feared for its supremacy, and on May 1st had about 50,000 troops in Paris, and most of the Confederal Committee in jail. The jailing of rebels, the high cost of living and the numerous other class issues continually facing the working class, offer the Confederal Committee unlimited opportunity to perform its chief function of carrying on a strong revolutionary propaganda.

If it considers it necessary, as during the postal strike of 1909, the Confederal Committee can vote the general strike in all the industries. This power is only advisory, however, as every syndicat reserves to itself the right to decide whether or not it shall strike. During strikes, or other agitation, the Confederal Committee sends organizers into the localities involved. There are no regular organizers the best fitted for the particular locality being selected. These are paid \$3.00 per day or \$1.40 if holding a paid position. Street speaking is not practiced in France, the propaganda being carried principally by hall speaking and posters. The Confederal Committee in 1910 had a cash balance of \$2050.

W. Z. FOSTER.

(To be concluded)

### GUSTAV HERVE IN 1907

As stated in last issue, Gustav Herve has changed his policy; he is now a politician, and against anti-parliamentary propaganda. Now, who can affirm that the statement written by him, Nov. 5, 1907, in "La Guerre Sociale" is a thing of the past and does not apply today as well as then? The article is as follows:

#### "THEIR MANIFESTO"

"A dozen reform socialists, all Congressmen and Councilors, receiving salaries of 15,000 and 6,000 francs a year, respectively, have now given birth to a 'manifesto'

"With other merits, they certainly have the one of boldness"

"They acknowledge their reformism. They proclaim themselves exclusive partisans of legal reform and enemies of 'revolutionary violence' "

"At last all is clear!"

"How many other politicians, those elected by the Socialist Party and those who aspire to be, have the same horror for the coming revolution?"

"A Social Revolution!!"

"Why? ... Since we have the ballot as the means to make our ideas peacefully triumphant as soon as we have the majority!"

"And they give us this foolishness without laughing."

"If you will wait until you are the majority before applying the collectivist or communist system, you will wait a long time."

"Majority!"

"Do you not know then, that the opinion of the majority is made by the great public press, that said press is in the hands of the bankers and industrial barons?"

"Under a Monarchy or Republic, with the capitalist system, Parliament is a puppet show. The members are the dolls and High Finance, thru the Press, holds the strings."

"Parliament rules; Finance governs."

"To show us the glory of parliamentarism and the beauty of 'a peaceful and legal' transformation, these Congressmen and Councilors must consider the proletariat in general and the socialists in particular, as a flock of geese?"

"We have to repeat and repeat: The emancipation of the proletariat will not come thru the ballot, which can, at most, pension old workers and nationalize the railroads, but thru a violent revolution."

Is Herve mocking the poor devils now, and does he intend to raise himself to comfort and fortune on their shoulders, like all politicians? JULES SCARCEAUX.

## THE SOLDIER'S CREED

"Captain, what do you think," I asked,  
 "Of the part your soldiers play?"  
 But the captain answered, "I do not think;  
 I do not think, I obey!"  
 "Do you think you should shoot a patriot down,  
 Or help a tyrant slay?"  
 But the captain answered, "I do not think;  
 I do not think, I obey!"  
 "Do you think your conscience was made to die,  
 And your brain to rot away?"  
 But the captain answered, "I do not think;  
 I do not think, I obey!"  
 "Then if this is your soldier's creed," I cried,  
 "You're a mean unmanly crew."  
 And for all your feathers and gilt and braid  
 I am more of a man than you!"  
 "For whatever my place in life may be,  
 And whether I swim or sink,  
 I can say with pride, 'I do not obey;  
 I do not obey, I think!'"  
 —ERNEST CROSBY.

## OUR VANISHING FREE SPEECH

Is freedom of speech and press an unquestioned, absolute fact in the United States? Is it true that everyone, making no difference who, is allowed to speak whatever he wishes to express in the full exercise of his "inalienable right" guaranteed by our Constitution? These are questions I am asking of myself, for I am persuaded by truth-testing events that have transpired in this nation, that it is not so.

Undoubtedly the casual observer, the unthinking, the uninformed, may be astonished at my assertion, become incredulous and demand corroboration of it. I shall, therefore set forth an array of indisputable facts of speech-pertaining events, pickt at random from an extended list.

Before the civil war broke forth, a number of men, like Lovejoy, Garrison and Phillips faut the traffic in human flesh with tongue and pen, and, consequently, suffered violence. Then Moses Harmon, who was the pioneer in America of the Eugenics movement, which is now attracting the serious attention of sociologists and reformers thruout the world, was thrown into prison for no other reason than for printing what was alleged to be "obscene literature", which was not so.

Next John Most was jailed just because he reprinted an article which had been written fifty years before and published a number of times without being interfered with by our government. Then Jay Fox, editor of THE AGITATOR, was convicted for "encouraging disrespect for law." At present San Diego is seething with war for free speech. Repeatedly from 10 to 50 men have been beaten, forced to sing patriotic songs, kiss the flag, run the gauntlet and suffer other cruelties, and were let go in a desert and warned never to return under penalty of death. A youth tried to make a speech at a corner beginning with words like these: "I come here not to break the law, but to defend it", and was clubbed and thrown into prison. Dr. Ben. L. Reitman was tarred and feathered after being taken far out into the outskirts of San Diego. Emma Goldman was forced to leave the city.

I will now show one strange inconsistency about the "constitutional right of free speech", which is typically common. I quote what a certain magazine printed:

"When Cardinal Manning, discoursing upon the law of necessity before well fed gentlemen, seated around the banquet table, said: 'A starving man has a natural right to his neighbour's bread' his eminence was graciously applauded by the well-fed ones. When Emma Goldman advised a crowd of half-starved cloakmakers: 'Ask for work; if they dont give you work ask for bread; if they dont give bread take bread', the brass-buttoned hirlings of the well-fed banqueters clapt her in jail for inciting to riot, tho there was no riot."

The first amendment to our constitution reads as follows: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble." Now it is supposed the Constitution is "the supreme law thruout the United States"; and as we remember the fights for free speech, we are forced by the strength of truth to view the Constitution as a noise and nothing more. The clubs of our fat-bellied cops are, after all, our actual supreme law. No wonder Herbert Spencer wrote: "Paper constitutions raise smiles on the faces of those who have observed their results."

Now we liberty-lovers can no longer speak of free speech in the present tense; on the contrary we are compelled to refer to it in the past. The more enshrouded

the world becomes in darkening doubt, the more vibrant the passion for liberty becomes in our spirits. The lower the flame of freedom flickers, the more gloomy, distorted and unnatural are the shaddows it casts across our lives. We must fan the flame of freedom before it becomes totally extinguished. Then: Long live the freedom of speech and press!  
 PETER LIVSHIS.

## SHALL MURDER BE COMMITTED

Joe Ettor and Arthur Giovannitti are in Prison in Lawrence Mass., awaiting trial on the charge of murder. They will be tried in a hostile capitalist community in September or soon, for a crime committed by a policeman, as testified to by eye witnesses, during the great Textile strike, thru which 300,000 ill treated and half starved textile workers have been benefited by a substantial raise in wages to the amount of \$15,000,000 dollars annually.

These young agitators came to Lawrence, Mass., at the solicitation of the striking workers in order to give them the benefit of their organizing experience in the battle for a living wage. The master class, whipped by the solidarity of the workers, now wish to get revenge by the death of our fellow workers in the electric chair. Their crime like many others who have suffered persecution at the hands of a money-mad band of parasites, is their loyalty to the working class.

Our fellow workers are charged with being the cause of the death of a girl striker on the trumped up charge of inflaming the minds of the workers with inflammatory speeches, to the point that the workers rioted. Those who know the prisoners and have heard the speeches, know that such a charge is an absolute lie. Back of the demand for the blood of our fellow workers are the strongest combinations of capital on the Eastern Coast. The best legal talent to be procured, will battle for a verdict in the first degree. We have no other alternative than to do our best with the game of the enemy. We must have first class attorneys. They will cost a lot of money, but what is money compared to the lives of our fellow workers?

Shall we allow our fellow workers to be murdered to satisfy a blood-thirsty capitalist class? WILL YOU assist in securing the best defence possible for them? If you will, then forward your donation to William Yates, Treasurer, Ettor-Giovannitti defence committee, Central Building, Lawrence, Mass., who will receipt for the amount.

## FREEDOM

True freedom begins with the individual. Just in proportion that the individual is free, physically and mentally, to that extent have we a free society. True, for one individual to be free would not effect society to any great extent, but it would modify it some. Now multiply the small amount which each individual would contribute to the sum total of society's emancipation by that which would accrue from all those who have as their ultimate ideal complete freedom for the human race, and what would be the result?

It is not merely enuf to profess being a libertarian. It is actions which count. We have too may passive radicals. Admitting that under present conditions it is impossible for the individual to live as he should wish, yet there are things which all of us can do right now.

Our whole system of society needs changing morally, physically, mentally, ethically, socially. Old ideas and ideals must give place to the new. But if we posit a belief in the new and persist in living the old, the change will never come. Society is changing by minute mutations. Let all conscious rebels aid the revolution to their utmost. Let them change their habits of thot and action to suit the new conception, and no doubt they will find that society will respond by gradual modification.

It is the only way; if we persist in floating down the stream of conformity, we shall float along toward the sea of conservatism. Rather let us, like the salmon, battle against the stream braving the whirlpools of deception and the rapids of hypocrisy; let us battle upwards and onwards until we arrive at the limpid pools of freedom. Tho the way be long and hard onward Comrades!

JOE O'DELL.

## THE LETTER BOX

B. M., Pittsburg, Pa.—Kindly send us your old address. Subscribers should always give old address together with the new when requesting a change.

Q., Chicago, Ill.—Thanks for the clipping. We are always glad to receive newspaper and other clippings relating to matters of general interest to the labor movement.

J. F., Portland, Ore.—Your "prayer" is lacking in the

one thing that makes The Agitator articles attractive to you—purpose. When one begins to write he must have some object in view, some idea to present to his readers. Your "prayer" seems to be without a point, and, therefore, not acceptable. But don't let his discourage you. Rather let it be a stimulus to renewed effort.

## THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund.

The Free Speech League,

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.

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## NOW IS THE TIME TO WORK

Tom Mann, on his release from prison, wrote:

Now is the time for us to enter upon the campaign for the direct control by the workers themselves of the industries they are engaged in. Simple as this statement may appear, it is really the most far-reaching of any proposal ever seriously entertained by workmen. It carries with it the ending of poverty. It will ensure every child, woman, and man being continuously provided with the requisites of a comfortable existence. It will empty the prisons, the workhouses, and lunatic asylums; for these places, particularly the two first-named, are filled by the poor in consequence of their poverty.

When the Trade Unionists fully realise the power and grandeur of this glorious crusade they will enter into it with the necessary vigor and capacity.

The struggle for liberty has been a long one and a hard one, and whilst enormous progress has been made, the working-class are still industriously enslaved, and millions are at this hour existing under conditions much below those that obtain in the gaols and pauper-houses.

All intelligent men know that this is so because industry is controlled exclusively in the interest of the capitalist class, and not because the workers cannot produce a sufficiency for all. There is only one cure, and that is, the workers must themselves regulate and control their labor and the results thereof, and this can be done and will be done by DIRECT ACTION as soon as the idea is properly grasped by a sufficient number of the workers.

OUR IMMEDIATE DUTY is to carry on a vigorous and extensive educational campaign. The Trade Unionists generally, and the Trades Councils particularly, will yet prove to be the real serviceable agencies by which we shall achieve our emancipation.

Meanwhile we must arrange a series of Syndicalist Conferences in the industrial centres, and one will be held in London as early as possible. This work will be done by the various groups of the Syndicalist Education League, and we ought to have such a group in every industrial district. Our comrade, Guy Bowman, will gladly give information as to how to get to work to inquirers. Remember, we mean business; we are Direct Actionists; we are not out to quarrel with any, but we are out to achieve something substantial for the workers.

We need a thousand speakers at once, who will, as members of the groups, carry on the campaign in all the unions. A couple of years' solid educational work will secure the volume of opinion necessary for definite action.

This work is too great, too intricate, and altogether too sacred for a plutocratic Parliament to touch. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." That's our case. Instead of allowing the people to be driven out of the country, a process which is now going on, we will, and we can, drive poverty from the land.

## FREEDOM THRU SYNDICALISM

With the French Syndicalists and with the Anarchists, like Elisee Reclus and Prince Kropotkin, I repudiate the idea of State collectivism.

The society of the future must be a community of freedom, where production and division will be organized internationally, according to the principles of federalism and communism combined.

The formidable coal strike has taught us more than one object lesson. Among other things it has clearly put into evidence how economically interdependent all countries are. The repercussion of the stoppage of the British coal supply has been acutely felt from one end of the globe to the other. This black strike has shown us how ultra absurd is the present industrial system, creating competition and antagonism when everything calls for unity and harmony—that unity and harmony which can only find complete and intensive expression in a whole world's economic federalism.

Now there are two hypotheses: one that political federalism will give place to economic federalism; the other that a social convulsion will straight off establish the levelling system, without passing through the intermediate stages. In fact, it is a question of evolution or revolution; and I must say

that revolution appears to me as the most probable eventuality. A social cataclysm may change the face of the capitalist world at any moment, just in the same way as a seismic cataclysm has so often suddenly transformed the face of the earth. This society, in its pride and strength and wickedness, may be swept away tomorrow by the fierce current of revolt, just as beautiful Messina was washed away by the overwhelming waters of the tidal wave.

### Autonomous Unionism.

Let me add this: I believe in the putting into practice of the principles of autonomy in every direction of human activity. I quite agree with the French and Italian Syndicalists in denouncing as anti-progressive and anti-revolutionary the Socialist policy of a centralized and authoritative Unionism. With my comrades of the Continent I am for autonomy; not only at every degree of the scale of Labor organization, but also for the individual autonomy of each Unionist himself. But autonomy of different units does not imply that voluntary discipline is not absolutely imperative in order to realize effective efficient co-operation between all fighters in the Labor War. What is wanted is not to paralyze, but to encourage initiative.

The Unions, as well as their members, must have the possibility of asserting themselves, of developing in an atmosphere of freedom, so that the power of intelligence should come into play more and more, giving a conscious impetus to the movement. What an irresistible creative force will Labor become when each Union is an aggregate of lucid, comprehensive brains, an aggregate of independent, yet sympathetic wills! The remarkable feature of the present Labor struggle in Great Britain is the intelligent part played by the strikers—who have ceased to be "the men" and have at last become men.—Sorgue, in *The Syndicalist*.

## INTERVENTION NEAR

Very, very soon the United States will intervene in Mexico. Assuredly the judgement of the editors of "Regeneracion" is not, infallible, but necessarily they are compelled to watch developments closely, and they have no doubt about it.

All of our information is that foreign governments, and especially those of Great Britain and Germany, are pressing for payment of claims that run into many millions, and that they themselves have kept their hands off, in deference to the Monroe doctrine, only because they have been assured that the United States will act as their collection agent. It is needless to say that the latter also has claims amounting to many, many millions. The editor of this section wrote, last January, in his pamphlet on the Mexican Revolution: "There are foreign investments in Mexico valued at about two thousand million dollars; and two thousand million dollars—to say nothing of the even richer pickings in sight—can exercise tremendous pressure."

Unquestionably, as also then he wrote, the United States, and all the other capitalist Powers, have hoped against hope that Madero would prove an effective agent, restore order and enable them to collect their claims and rest secure in the possession of their annexation, without restoring to the expensive and doubtful experiment of war. That hope is now practically dead. The farce has played itself out. Madero's troops can do nothing except scatter the forces of Orozco, Ralazar, Zapata, Salgado and other rebel leaders. Scattered they are more formidable than ever. Their program becomes continuously more and more one of remorseless expropriation, put into effect over a continuously widening area.

What is the United States government going to do? What are those to do who believe as do all the governing power, that property must be protected and preserved at any cost? It is understood, of course, that they refuse to admit the evils of land monopoly and absentee land ownership; also every intelligent person in every civilized country recognizes them as gigantic evils. They stand pat. They refuse to consider anything except that certain titles exist. Into the question of how they were acquired they refuse to enter.

By no possible means can Madero meet the claims about to be presented. . . In reality he is plunging his country into vastly greater debt; for, so strong is the agitation for the return to the mass of their land, that he has been forced to commit his government to the purchase of huge tracts on which the disinherited may find a footing. Naturally that is no remedy at all, since, if the price is to be paid, that price must come finally out of the pockets of the very people who have been robbed.

Plutocracy, thru what still professes to be the people's

government of the United States, is about to act. It will dispatch its ships to seize the port of Mexico, and confiscate customs for the liquidation of the debt. Doubtless it will send its troops across the border. In a word, it will levy war. —Wm. C. Owen, in "Regeneracion."

## SPECIAL FROM AUSTRALIA

Dear Comrade: The Federal Parliament has commenced the annual palaver. An attack was made on the Labor Government for not sending the trained nuskateers to Brisbane during the strike. Prime Minister Fisher, in answer stated he would have sent them, if they had been required, but it would have put militarism back 50 years in Australia if he had sent them to Queensland—clearly proving the Labor Prime Minister is ready to or, der the military to fire on the Workers, should they infringe the law. Thus demonstrating Authority and Equality are not synonymous. Equality indeed! Fisher grabbing \$10,000 a year, voted himself \$10. a day extra for traveling expenses, and, to catch the Womans vote, has thrown them a bone promising every Woman \$25. for the birth of every child, chlorforming the dupes, who will have to give every penny to the Doctors. But all Governments are like the Exploiters. They will do anything for the poor, but get off their backs.

The Labor Premier of New South Wales recently had eight unemployed speakers arrested for "riotous behaviour" while addressing the unemployed in Sydney. They were sentenced to a fine of 10 shillings or 48 hours imprisonment. What, Ho! Labor Government jailing starving unemployed, save us from our friends, "Workers, these be your gods."

The unemployed is rapidly increasing thruout Australia. I addressed a large meeting in the Richmond Town Hall, and advocated an imitation of the suffragettes, and become window smashers rather than endure hunger,

One pleasing sign is the Federation of the laborers' unions thruout Australia on the lines of the I.W.W., Direct Action and Revolt.

Baden Powell visited Melbourne, but was such a frost, that, like the Arab, he silently stole away.

J. W. FLEMMING.

## NEW BOOKS

**Monopolies and Trusts**—By Richard T. Ely, (The Macmillan Standard Library, 50c.) This is a reprint of Prof. Elys' very studious work first published in 1900

The book goes to the root causes of monopolies and trusts, and shows them to be the inevitable outcome of the growth of industry and the accumulation of capital.

He states the cause well, and for this the book is good. But we cannot accept his remedies. Government regulation is not a remedy. At best it can only relieve the situation; and we have grave doubts if it can even do that.

If government was really something apart from the monopolies and trusts, something that in a manner represented the people, we might be inclined to consider the proposition of government regulation as a palliative.

But when we consider that government itself is a gigantic trust—the mother of monopolies—how can we be induced to believe that it will treat us any better than the other monopolies? Prof. Ely ought to know better, and no doubt he does; but what can a man do who wants to cross the river and is afraid to trust himself in the ferry boat.

**Essentials of Socialism**—By Ira B. Cross, Ph. D. (The Macmillan Company, \$1. Net.) This is an attempt to give in brief an outline of socialism in all its different phases, in an impartial manner, and the author has succeeded, quite well in his efforts.

Among other data it gives a very complete list of socialist and anarchist books in the English language.

As a book of reference it is quite handy. J. F.

## PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

"The Extinction of Mankind," by Sir Walter Strickland. "Richard Carlile, His Battle For the Free Press." By Guy A. Aldred—both published by The Bakunin Press, 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, W.

"Has Religion been a promoter or a Retarder of Civilization?" by Rosa Marcus, 10c. Progressive Educational League, San Francisco.

"The Solution of the The Labor Problem" by Jens. C. Peterson, Butte, Montana. 10c.

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**Wanted**—To correspond with radical woman.—Henry C. Hansen., Home, (Lakebay P.O.) Wn.